LIFE IN LESU

CHAPTER I

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

131 THREE degrees south of the equator in the Western Pacific is the village of Lesu, on the east coast of New Ireland, part of the Bismarck Archipelago, a group of islands lying north-
142 east of Australia. The New Irelanders are the tall, more or less well-built Melanesian type, with kinky black hair, brown skin, and somewhat negroid features, and are a hospitable, kindly, good-natured people. In the past the
291 men wore no clothing at all and the women only a straw
177 apron. To-day, however, because of white influence, everyone wears a loin-cloth, and the women sometimes wear blouses, but most of the time these are omitted.

133 In size, New Ireland is the second largest island of the Bismarck Archipelago, and is long and narrow in shape. Running through the centre is a low range of mountains, about 3,000 feet at their highest altitude. Along the coast,
491 beginning at the northern end, runs a road for over a hundred miles, one of the few roads in the whole Territory of New Guinea. The road follows the coast in a winding fashion, uphill and downhill, and over it travel the natives, by foot, and occasionally by bicycle, from one village to another. Long stretches of road have on one side the dense bush with its thick undergrowth of tangled vines, its bright-coloured flowers, among them the familiar south-sea hibiscus, the tall coconut palms, the delicate bamboo trees, the nodding areca palms, and many other trees over which fly
33 brightly plumed birds. On the other side lies a sea which is dazzlingly brilliant in the sunshine, its glare broken here

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and there by little islands in the distance. There is no sign of human habitation. Other parts of the road run through native villages, with the little low, thatch-roofed, bamboo-walled huts nestling under the tall palm trees. In front of a house is a man playing with his infant son. Out on a reef is a group of men standing in circular formation knee-deep in the sea, each with a fishing-net or spear, waiting for the appropriate moment to close in on the fish. Further on sits an old man in front of the men's house, weaving a fishing-net. In the open compound are a group of women sitting on the ground, scraping the taro for their evening meal. From the road the gardens are not visible, for they are several miles distant in the bush.

The road leaves the village to run again through an uninhabited part, where the only sound is the roar of the waves against a high precipice. Then it turns in and passes through the evenly planted coconut trees of a white man's plantation, whose orderliness stands out in contrast with the irregular and crowded coconut trees in the villages. So the road continues, linking distant villages in a friendly fashion, whereas before the advent of the white man the relationship between them was merely the hostilities of warfare.[1]

DAILY LIFE

In the villages the day begins with the rising sun, which is the timepiece for the natives.[2] From the home emerge, yawning, the husband, wife, female children, and very young

[1] The road was begun under the German administration and is now kept up by native labour.

[2] The sun rises and sets at approximately six o'clock, with a variation of only about twenty minutes throughout the year. Sunrise, sunset, and night are the main distinctions of time. Other times are indicated by pointing to the place in the sky where the sun would be then. Boys who have worked on the white man's plantation know noon as the time for the midday meal, but it does not figure in native life.

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there is light laughter and gay voices. One group of men is at the men's house. Lovers have gone into the privacy of the deep bush, which even the moon cannot penetrate. The evening passes happily for everyone and bedtime comes close to midnight.

The days are full, but not hurried. In addition to the normal work there are the many feasts to prepare for, dances to be rehearsed for coming rites, and other preparations for ritual activities, which consume a large amount of time. To-day, also, the native is compelled to keep the road in good condition, and this work lessens the time for his own labour.[1] The native habit is to take time off when he is very tired or has nothing to do. For instance, after a strenuous three or four days of mortuary rites he sleeps for a whole day. But I did not see any healthy men or women spend many days in idleness. They were busy, with suitable intervals for leisure, and, on the whole, they lead an active life, but one without hurry or tension. No exact hour or day is set far in advance for an elaborate rite, but when the preparations are finished, the rite will be carried out.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

This daily life is set within a social structure which may be likened to an elastic configuration, functioning as the individuals live within it. In this configuration are certain fundamental elements which are chosen for detailed observation and study. These elements are the groupings of people on the basis of kinship, locality, and sex. The place of an individual within the structure and his various relationships with other people are largely determined (in so far as they are socially determined) by blood relationships, place of residence, and sex.

[1] He is required to give three days a week for this labour.

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net is held taut on a stick stuck into the ground, the other is fastened on a small twig, which is used as a needle. If a man who does not know how to weave a net wants one, he will collect the vine from the bush and take it to any of the weaving experts, who makes it for one *tsera*. There are eight men in the village who are experts in weaving.

CARVING, WORK IN TORTOISE-SHELL, ETC.

The only carved objects are *malanggans* and masks, which are made by specialists who are paid for their work. In the village of Lesu there is just one man who is skilled in this work, and in several other villages there is only one carver. When a *malanggan* is to be made, the man who owns it instructs the carver how it is to be made, and will spend much time with him while the wood is being carved. The work to-day is done with knives purchased at trade stores. In the past sharp stones were used, and the natives say that the carving is better since it has been done with knives. It is taboo for anyone except the man who owns the *malanggan* to watch the carver at work. The latter enjoys no special prestige because of his skill. In Lesu the carver, Kanua, is a nonentity in village life aside from the work of carving. In Medina, on the other hand, the carver, who is an old man, enjoys much prestige, but he is a man of real knowledge of *malanggans* and folk-tales and an important man in his clan.

Tortoise-shell work is also confined to a few, and is done with a knife, where formerly it was done with a stone. The only objects made are the decoration for the *kepkep* and the *polok* for scooping out coconut. The latter are not made very frequently now.

The building of canoes is almost a lost art on this part of the island. No new ones were made while I was there, and the few in existence were small dugout canoes with an outrigger, but with no carving. They were more like children's canoes. The road which runs south from Kavieng a hundred

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and forty miles has provided a way of transportation which makes canoes unnecessary.

ORGANIZATION OF WORK

The work described in the preceding pages has been done both by individuals and by groups. The main occupations, gardening, fishing, cooking, and hunting, all require some form of co-operation. In the gardening it is the members of the immediate family, a man and his wife and children, who work together in the tilling of the ground. Each has his allotted task, the man the clearing of the ground, the woman the planting, etc. The group is enlarged when the man assists his wife's relatives in the clearing of the ground, or the woman works in her sister's garden, or a man calls on the men of the hamlet to help him build a fence. Fishing is also a communal occupation for the men, as is most of the cooking for the women. The size of the group will vary for both these occupations. In fishing it will depend upon the method used and the importance of the event for which the fish are being caught. In cooking, occasionally a mother and her daughter will prepare the evening meal alone, but more frequently it will be all the women of the hamlet, and if the preparations are for a big ritual feast all the women of the village and neighbouring villages will participate. House-building is also co-operative, male members of the family and hamlet helping each other. When the enclosure in which the boys are circumcised was built, all the men of the village helped and all the women cooked for the feast which followed. Members of the same clan help each other, particularly in the financing of the rites.

The organization of this work thus fits into the social structure of family, clan, hamlet, and village. Kinship and locality, two of the determining factors of the social structure, are equally important in setting the frame for the organiza-

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Corresponding to these stimuli there is the sociability and camaraderie among the women who cook communally.

There is very little, almost no direction of work. The techniques are well known, and it is not necessary for anyone to give directions to scrape taro or thatch a roof. The work follows the traditional rules learned in childhood. A certain direction or organization occurs in fishing, when the man who sights the fish gives the call, but this could hardly be called bossing. This lack of leadership in communal undertakings is quite striking to the observer. One or two men act as masters of ceremonies and make the necessary speeches at these rites, as, for example, Sola and Buibui at the initiation rites at Ponatlege, but there was no one man or woman bossing the communal cooking preparations for these rites. They have been initiated by those most interested, and the work then follows along traditional lines. There is a similar lack of policing at the inter-village rites where hundreds of people are gathered together By some kind of mutual consent the crowd does not press unduly upon the clearing used as a stage, and are considerate of each other in their desire to see the rites. This holds for rites lasting several days and nights, when both onlookers and participants have had little sleep and are weary. I witnessed many such rites, and never did I see any pushing or quarrelling for advantageous places, such as marks similar crowds in our society.

The newly introduced Government work on the roads is in direct contrast with the native manner of working at their own occupations. All natives, male and female, are required to give three days a week to work on the road, mending the holes in it and keeping it in good condition. On these days the "Luluai," Government-appointed chief, blows his conch shell early in the morning to assemble the people. They come to the road in front of his house, the women standing or squatting (squatting on toes the usual position) in one group apart from the men.

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position) in one group apart from the men. The "Luluai" then gives them the directions for the work, telling them what part of the road is to be repaired, and what is to be done, and he divides them into working groups. They then separate to work as directed.

For this road work there is no tradition. The assembling to receive directions is as much an innovation as the work itself. Not only is there no tradition, but there are none of the usual stimuli. It is "forced labour." There is no pay for it, and it is done through fear of the powerful white Government which has subdued them. There is no singing, no sociability, but instead a lack of the usual zest, a sullenness which is completely lacking from native work, and a resentful weariness at the end of the day. It is difficult for a native to understand why he should give half the time which he formerly gave to his gardens and rites to making a road, by which the white men set such a big value.

DISTRIBUTION

We have seen how people of Lesu work and what they produce. What becomes of the products of their labour? What is the system of distribution, as opposed to the production just described?

That part of the produce of labour is used for immediate consumption by the worker is obvious. The taro from the garden forms the staple of the daily meals of the man and wife who have planted the garden. The man who initiates the building of a house, working on it himself and paying others for their assistance, lives in the house when it is completed. But production for immediate consumption does not tell the whole story.

There are several different forms of exchange which are part of the system of distribution. (1) Reciprocal exchange between individuals and between groups, when exact equals

the inhabitants of the east coast of New Ireland from Kaviong to Karu, a district for many reasons eminently suitable for the study in question. In the first place, it had always been, and still is, one of the most important centres in the Territory for the recruiting of native labour. Scattered along its coast are many of the most flourishing plantations in New Guinea, the owners of which depend on local natives for the bulk of their labour supply—a dependence specially marked just now owing to the depression in the copra market, which compels industrial organizations to observe the greatest economy. The immediate advantage to the planter of local labour over labour recruited from other parts of the Territory is the saving of recruiting fees, passage moneys, transport and incidental costs through his being able to secure the natives he requires from the villages around his plantation, and the advantages to the native population of being able to place its available workers on some plantation near their villages are obviously so great that everything should be done to encourage conditions that make it possible. A further inducement to the studying of the population in this region is the position that has lately arisen owing to an increasing European interest in local lands for agricultural purposes, resulting during the last few years in numerous applications for leaseholds, of which many were being held in abeyance until an inquiry could be made into the future land requirements of the native inhabitants. In German times considerable areas of land were alienated and freehold grants given to European planters, who utilized these rights to such advantage that here and there along the coast are numerous productive and exceedingly valuable coco-nut plantations. The land in the district is suitable for the cultivation of coco-nuts. It is traversed from end to end by a road good enough for motor traffic. It has a large population, the climate is excellent, and there are several anchorages in convenient centres where small steamers are able to pick up copra—the very conditions to encourage European settlement. Now arises a question which cannot be determined until a close survey has been made of the population itself; i.e., whether in the interests of the natives and their future requirements any further land should be alienated, a point of especial importance since the natives themselves now own coco-nut groves, which they are being encouraged to extend, while at the same time they are receiving instruction from officials of the Department of Agriculture in the planting and maintaining of such properties.

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Just as in matters of land and labour, so in the question of trade, the natives are brought closely into contact with the European population. It is to the European that the native sells the products of his coco-nut groves, his surplus native food, pigs, fish, fruit, fowls, eggs and in some places trochus-shell, snail shell and bêche-de-mer, for which he receives in return money, rice and other European foods, and trade

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3:Chinnery G, E-5 (1929)1931 OM10 New Ireland OM10

goods. Each year this economic bond between European and native residents grows stronger, and the two racial interests become more interdependent.

The native inhabitants pay taxes to the Government, and keep 150 miles of road between Kavieng and Karu in proper order for motor traffic, each village group being responsible for its own section.

These are some of the principal developments in the material life of the people as a result of European settlement. On the cultural and social life, chiefly due to mission influence, additional far-reaching changes have taken place, and these increase as the missions expand. Two mission organizations are now operating in the district—Roman Catholic and Methodist. The principal Roman Catholic stations are at Lemakot, Munuwai and Lemasong, and those of the Methodist Mission are at Maiom and Pinigindu.

The progress of European organizations has transformed the life of the natives, whose indigenous institutions have either died out or, like the *maligans*, are tottering to extinction with scarcely a hope of surviving the present generation. The people of coming generations will have to fit into the social and religious fabric being woven for them by the driving force of European industrial, religious and administrative control now thoroughly established in the district.

With the object of making the survey in question, I left Rabaul on Saturday, 23rd March, 1929, and on Monday, the 25th March, commenced work in the villages between Kavieng and Karu. Completing the preliminary census on the 11th May, I came back to Rabaul to tabulate my notes, and, this done, returned to the east coast villages, where I remained from the 1st June until the 26th June, investigating special phenomena indicated by the tables.

Thus the work was divided into two parts, firstly, an enumeration of the population in their villages, and, secondly, an investigation of the figures together with social and religious features seemingly of value to the issue.

A specimen of the form used in recording the names and demographic features of the inhabitants is appended. (Appendix 1.) In regard to the actual method, however, a generalized explanation is necessary.

The inhabitants live in small family settlements along the coast-line, excepting mountain and forest groups, who reside in the bush. Each settlement has its own small plot of land, clumps of coco-nut trees, and two or three living houses. They are scattered along the whole coast-line a few yards or 100 yards or so apart, according to the political boundaries and space available. A group of several family settlements forms a political division, which is administered by the Government with the aid of local natives of influence and repute, who are appointed Luluai and Tul-tul and officiate under the supervision of the District Officer according to authority set out in the Native Administration

3: Chinnery G, E-5 (1929) 1931 OM10 New Ireland OM10

Scattered along the coast between the villages are the coco-nut plantations owned and worked by Europeans. They also appear in the list above-mentioned in capital letters. 361

During the German régime, efforts to enumerate the natives living between Kavieng and Madina were still being made in 1901-1902, and in that year the Government called a meeting of tribes, who two years before were hostile, and induced them to select chiefs to assist in local administration. Sub-districts were delineated and an enumeration was made, 5,118 people being recorded between Kavieng and Lugagun. This number did not include the forest and mountain people, as it was intended later on to amalgamate these with the coastal groups. In 1906-1907, however, the successful organization of unions between the two stocks appears to have taken place. What is meant by this is not quite clear, but, from what I gathered during the inquiry, most of the mountain people were induced to build temporary villages on the coast, and fusion between the stocks was encouraged in every possible way. Certain villages on the coast now belong to mountain people, who live in them for short intervals, and almost everywhere more or less fusion between the two stocks has taken place. 659 619 [161]

A great civilizing factor in those days was the coastal road, which in 1902-3 was extended to Fisoa, and in 1903-4 had reached Pinigindu. During 1911-12 no effort was spared to make it suitable for motor traffic. After military occupation in 1914 this road was extended to Kimaden, and during the present civil administration it has been carried on as far as Karu. Its existence has had a tremendous influence on the development of the people of the district, by whose labour, of course, it has been built and kept in repair. 491

The people of the area investigated are divided linguistically into three main groups, two coastal languages, one extending from Kavieng to Fatmilak, and one from Fatmilak to Karu, and bush languages which appear in purest form in the Limalaua group of people who live in the bush and on the coast near Fatmilak. According to information received from natives, the Kavieng-Fatmilak language is divided into the following dialectical groups:— 197

Kavieng to Losuk.
Mangai to Livitua.
Laowan to Luburua.
Lakurumau (said to be different from the others).
Munawai to Fatmilak.

The languages from Fatmilak to Karu are grouped as follow:— Limalaua (a bush language) is said to extend to Yendat and possibly to Lemo, Bimun, Panaras, Patlinger and other villages to the west.

3: Chinnery G, E-5 (1929) 1931 OM10 New Ireland OM10

which gives each of them what they lack. In the vicinity of Lambuso, Pinigindu, Lemasong and Lugagun are sago swamps, which are relied upon in time of famine to support the people of the lower road, the owners then reaping large supplies of shell-money by selling the sago. 438 [261]

Dry spells from time to time produce food shortages, but as a rule these are apparently not very serious. In 1914 (?), however, no rain fell for about a year (?), and the people were in great distress. The whole country suffered from drought, and, excepting from the sago swamps, there was practically no food procurable. The period of drought and famine culminated in a series of destructive bush fires along the whole line of coast, bush and mountain ranges, and, from the graphic descriptions given to me, everything perished—wallabies, in fact, have scarcely been seen since. It is extremely probable that a great loss of life followed this period of famine. The natives said that only those with plenty of shell-money were able to keep themselves supplied with sago. People scattered far and wide, especially in the direction of Tabr, looking for food. 731

The natives now divide their time between work in their gardens and work on road maintenance, and it is possible that in some areas the demands of the road at times lead to neglect of garden work. The people of the mountain villages have villages on the coast, to which they come for a few days when their road services are due. I think this division of work and the areas for which the various villages are responsible should be made the subject of a special investigation by the district officials. Mr. Waugh, the District Officer, has in mind a scheme for the maintenance of a mobile road gang, with adequate transport facilities. If something of the kind were possible the natives could spend more time in their gardens and coco-nut groves. 421 491 651

HOUSING.

When I first went down the Kavieng road in 1924 most of the natives' houses were small, neat-looking, rectangular structures built on piles some feet above the ground. This was a standard pattern that had been introduced by the District Officials. On this occasion, however, I noticed that in most of the villages the people were living in their old type of house. Whether these are healthier than the introduced structures I cannot tell, but it seems to me much better to improve the structure they desire to live in than to force them to build houses which they will probably vacate as soon as the Government official's back is turned. The type of house, the erection of it, and everything connected with it, is definitely part of native culture and as such should be preserved as far as possible. 342 362

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unless the native officials have the confidence of their people. Any system lacking these conditions would lead to extortion, &c., and ultimately create general depression wherever faults existed.

Given a suitable staff of native officials and thorough supervision, local administration by native representatives is, in my opinion, eminently suited to the present condition of native development. The whole population is thus divided into a number of relatively discreet groups, each of which attends to its local affairs and leaves serious matters to the supervising district officials for adjustment. This keeps the district officials intimately in touch with the pulse of their district and enables them to detect in its earliest stage any element likely to threaten the general harmony of the district. Especially will it keep their attention constantly on the sensitive chain binding together the interests of European and native residents, on the stability of which depends the future of the population.

LAND ALIENATION.

In considering the question whether the land available is sufficient for the needs of the population one is hampered at the outset by the absence of reliable information as to the area now remaining the property of any particular village. All we have to guide us is the map of the district, which shows the area of alienated land and leaves the balance as village-owned land. But how this area is distributed amongst the village groups that inhabit the road we cannot tell, as village areas are not surveyed. In some cases, especially between Madina and Kavieng, there does not appear to be a very great area of suitable ground available for native garden expansion, and within this boundary in one or two places, where alienated land thrusting to the coast divides village-owned land, people are forced to walk through plantations to reach their gardens lying beyond. In certain cases, too, the close proximity of planted areas to villages has led to the destruction of village pigs whose owners have failed to keep them from straying on the plantations. In any case, in the absence of a survey of lands now remaining the property of natives, it is not desirable that any further alienation of coastal land shall take place between Kavieng and Malom, and in the event of applications being received for land between Malom and Karu a thorough investigation should be made in regard to the general needs of the villagers before such applications be considered.

ROADS.

One of the most important factors in the welfare of these people is time and opportunity for garden work. Under present conditions each village has a certain mileage of road to keep in order for motor traffic. I am of opinion that the question of road work should form the subject of a special inquiry by the District Officer, especially as to the proportion allotted to each village in relation to its able-bodied